

Republican Bulletin

IRIS NA POBLACHTA

SAMHAIN — NOVEMBER 1986

10p

HISTORIC SINN FÉIN DECLARATION

Poblacht na hÉireann Irish Republic

Whereas a majority of the delegates to the 82nd Ard-Fheis of Sinn Féin have today voted to allow their elected representatives to recognise the 26-County Parliament at Leinster House and take part in its administration; and,

Whereas such a decision conflicts with the two fundamental principles on which the organisation is based and which are enshrined in the Constitution of Sinn Féin, viz.

- “(a) That the allegiance of Irishmen and Irishwomen is due to the Sovereign Irish Republic proclaimed in 1916.
- (b) That the sovereignty and unity of the Republic are inalienable and non-judicable”; and,

Whereas the experience of six decades of attempts to win full Irish freedom through the Leinster House partitionist assembly has shown such efforts to be a total failure, culminating in recent years in full collaboration with the London Government, including extradition of political prisoners and the spending of one million pounds per day of Irish taxpayers' money in protecting the border for England; and,

Whereas no group, minorit, or majority, claiming to serve the historic cause of national freedom and sovereignty, can grant recognition to the British-created institutions of Leinster House, Stormont and Westminster.

We, Irish Republicans who wish to uphold the basic Republican position enshrined in the Sinn Féin Constitution until today and meeting in public session declare as follows:

We renew our allegiance to the Sovereign Irish Republic proclaimed in 1916 and which was endorsed by the majority of the people of Ireland, acting as a unit, in 1918.

We uphold the Declaration of Independence proclaimed in National Parliament, Dáil Éireann, on January 21st, 1919 and heroically defended in arms by succeeding generations of Irish Republicans.

We will pursue the Republican objectives by continuing the organisation of **Republican Sinn Féin** whose object will be to organise the Irish people, at home and abroad, in opposition to British interference in the affairs of the historic Irish Nation; to defend the interests of the Irish people against all forms of colonialism and exploitation, political, social, economic and cultural; and to devise policies for the emancipation of all the Irish people, including a system of government which will cherish all the children of the Nation equally and give all a truly democratic voice in the government of their community, by the establishment of a Democratic Socialist Republic.

We salute the memory of our patriot dead who shall always inspire us and we express our solidarity with the families of those who died in the cause of Irish freedom in recent years. To all our Republican prisoners we pledge ourselves to carry on the struggle for which they are now suffering so much.

We uphold the historic right of the Irish people to use whatever degree of controlled and disciplined force is necessary in resisting English aggression and bringing about an English withdrawal from our country for ever.

We confidently ask all the Irish people for their support in our endeavours to make the Irish Republic a living reality. Our exiled men and women and all others who have helped us so far are invited to continue their support which has always been much appreciated.

Tuigimid go maith go mbeidh deacrachtaí romhainn ins an obair seo ar fad agus glacaimid na cúraimí seo orainn le dóchas go mbeidh muintir na hÉireann fial lena gcúnamh mar a bhí i gcónaí.

Seasaimid le Poblacht 1916.

2nd November, 1986.

A Portrait of Ireland

The Ireland of 1986 is beset by many social problems. Most of us are aware of this. We know there is material and cultural deprivation and that unemployment is at record levels, both North and South.

Our society seems to drift along, leaderless. The problems are now so great the only radical change will solve them. Those who look to the British, Loyalist and 26-County establishments in Ireland for positive and honest national leadership will look in vain.

To take one example. It is sad indeed to see sincere Gaeilgeoirí going to the 26-County Minister for Education, Mr. Patrick Cooney, to ask him to take action to halt the alarming decline in the Irish language in our schools. Ná bí ag caint.

Those who would wish to change a lot of things in Irish society cannot plan a way ahead without first taking a hard look and making a realistic assessment of how and where we are now and how we got here. Never was the need for a radical alternative more necessary than today.

For those who have the time and inclination to study some of the problems and take stock of our situation, I recommend a recent book called **"Ireland: a Sociological Profile"**, published by the Institute of Public Administration and the Sociological Association of Ireland, at £9.95.

Here in over 400 pages are 19 different papers on various aspects of Irish life today, written by a team of sociologists. The editors claim that it "addresses key aspects of institutions and structures in both parts of Ireland" and "amounts to a distinctive, if not complete, portrait of Irish society".

This book, it must be stressed, does not offer solutions. It tells us what we are, warts and all. The proposal of solutions is not the sociologist's job, in academic terms anyhow. But for those who would like to take stock of Irish society in 1986, prior to making plans and devising policies, this is as good and as up-to-date an account of our society as one is likely to get.

Most of our readers would be interested in the chapter called **"Power Control and Media Coverage of the Northern Ireland Conflict"**, by Mary Kelly of the Department of Sociology in University College, Dublin. Her paper is based on painstaking research of the media over several years, and she shares her analysis with us.

Dr. Kelly distinguishes, for instance, four frames in which IRA activity in the Six Counties is reported. It is basically a matter of the terminology used.

"Four frames were used which can be summarised briefly, if rather grossly, as follows: a republican frame, highlighted in some of the representations of the IRA in the *Irish News* and to a lesser extent in the *Irish Press*. This overlapped with the committed 'men of violence' frame highlighted in some of the *Irish Times* coverage, but particularly in that of the *Irish Independent*. This frame again veered towards the 'terrorist' frame, central in the *News Letter*, the *Belfast Telegraph* and *The Times* (London) which overlapped with the 'animals/scum' frame which characterised some of the reports in the *Mirror* and *Express*".

The understanding people in the 26 Counties have of events north of the border is confused and ambivalent.

"The knowledge of the contribution of Republican violence to the establishment of the state, as well as the Republican definitions and ideology learned by many through both school and family, cannot be

easily dismissed from consciousness as simply the emotional 'cult of 1916' (Cruise O'Brien, quoted in *Irish Times*, November 1983). Yet many are dependent for their knowledge of the Northern Ireland situation on the media — especially television (see Chubb 1984, p. 76), which owing to censorship is extremely narrow and limited in its coverage.

"This has the consequence of presenting the violence as unmotivated and irrational, a procession of inexplicable events led by a tiny minority of violent men. I would thus expect considerable confusion and lack of understanding in the Republic of Ireland of the forces which contribute to the continuance of the violence. I would further argue that, in the long term, ignorance rarely contributes to the resolution of conflict".

A paper called **"Class, Clientelism and the Political Process in the Republic of Ireland"** by Ellen Hazelkorn of the Dublin Institute of Technology is an analysis of what passes for politics in the 26 Counties. This is the world of political patronage and brokerage, the TDs' clinics and the use of public money to buy allegiance. Ignorance is perpetuated and democracy becomes a joke.

"Few politicians would seek to define themselves as legislators, preferring the image of representing or serving their constituents. Chubb's initial assertion that deputies spend their time in clinics and letter-writing has been substantiated by more recent research".

Poor Ireland.

Clientelism she regards as a mechanism for manipulating political disorganisation among the dominated classes in society. Her conclusions are devastating, as she refers to the risks involved in trying to change the system by becoming part of it. The system swallows you up.

"Put simply, Irish clientelism involves individuals who seek out the TD, or similarly placed 'elites', in order to acquire some benefit or service which they feel they would not receive by their own, or their group's efforts".

"There is a growth of cynicism and alienation from politicians and the political process, but political debate has not shown any significant alteration in style, content or ideological level. The Workers' Party and sections of the Labour-left have occasionally succeeded in raising debate onto a more ideological plane, but change will not be easy or automatic. For them to operate in constituencies through clinics could be politically disastrous in the long-term; suggestions that their councillors/TDs can be as effective as others in acquiring services or information will likely reinforce the traditional vertical/clientele links, and negate the horizontal/class ties which they ideologically favour.

"In Ireland, clientelism is not merely a cultural or historic feature of rural life now appendaged onto the urban political scene. Nor has its existence and persistence been merely the result of successful interventions by politicians. Rather, through clientelism, the state has actively sought to deflect incipient conflict by channelling it instead into well-established clientele networks, controlled by parties of the dominant classes. Clientelism is institutionalised within the very fabric of the state, and reinforced by a consistent effort to exclude questions that refer to class differences. In this manner, protest is curtailed and the status quo enforced".

This is how the 26-County state is run. This is how the masses are manipulated and kept docile. Our job is to find ways and means of changing it and this must surely begin as a process of education.

This is a book worth reading and studying. It is a serious but readable book and each chapter would provide an ideal basis for discussion in groups.

If you cannot afford the price or do not get a book token for Christmas, then ask your local library to get it for you.

Saoránach.

A MAN OF HONOUR

"Martin McGuinness . . . and his friends who wanted to end the boycott of the Dáil tried to convince their colleagues that the new proposal was not a sellout on the principles of Sinn Féin up to that point.

"It was of course a total sellout . . . but in their lust for power another sellout here or there meant little to Gerry Adams and his cronies.

"The saddest thing about the Sinn Féin betrayal of principles was to see a man like John Joe McGirl row in along with the sellout even though he himself when once elected as a TD refused to take his seat . . . What a conversion job was carried out on the gallant John Joe.

"The one man to emerge from the Sinn Féin debacle with his honour intact was Ruairí Ó Brádaigh. Despite a lot of provocation and inducing he stuck by his principles and went very close to beating the best efforts . . . He has now set up yet another splinter republican group which will undoubtedly do a lot of harm to Mr. Adams and his cohorts particularly if he can hold onto the support of the powerful Noraid group in America.

"But at least Ruairí Ó Brádaigh has been true to his principles which is more than can be said for the prominent Sinn Féin people who swallowed their principles in the hope of personal gain at future elections in the 26 counties".

*From the Editorial in the Longford Leader,
7th November, 1986.*

PROGRESS IS REPORTED

A meeting of the Organising Committee was held on Sunday, 9th November 1986.

Representatives from each of the four provinces were present, along with the Officer Board and two Councillors from the Six Counties.

Encouraging reports were received from each area. Some cumainn have already affiliated to the National Committee and arrangements are being made by: Kerry, Limerick, Tipperary, Roscommon, Galway, Donegal, Fermanagh, Longford, Cavan, Monaghan, Leitrim and Down to affiliate also.

Reports were received on people anxious to form cumainn in Belfast, Tyrone, Derry, Meath and Westmeath.

Arrangements were made for a meeting of Republican Sinn Féin in the Dublin area to be held on Friday 14th November.

Plans were laid for the publication of a Republican Bulletin.

Working groups were set up to spread the organisation more widely and a number of organisers were appointed.

Study groups in the areas of cultural and student activities were elected and reports will be submitted to the next meeting.

The National Committee will meet again in the near future.

'Is ann a gheofar inspioráid'

Sliocht as alt le Risteard Ó Glaisne ar Scéala Éireann, 7ú Samhain, 1986.

"Agus is é is dóichí gurb é dream Ruairí Uí Bhrádaigh, Dháithí Uí Chonaill agus eile is mó a choinneoidh prionsabail agus polasaí Shinn Féin traidisiúnta ag imeacht. Fiú má fheictear anmhaolú go ceann scaithimh ar ghníomhaíocht armtha na gluais-eachta ginearálta a scoilt arís Dé Domhnaigh, mura dtiocfar ar réiteach pholaitiúil a shásóidh an pobal náisiúnach sna Sé Chontae don chuid is mó, caithfear glacadh leis go mbeidh leithéid "Sinn Féin na bPoblactach" (dream Uí Bhrádaigh agus eile) mar ionad coinne ag daoine a gheobhaidh inspioráid fós as idéil agus modhanna na gluaiseachta úd a d'eascair as Éirí Amach na Cásca 1916 agus a choimeád a n-agóid ar siúl in ainneoin an uile chineáil ó shin.

"Iarrachtaí Adams ar an scoilt a sheachaint, nó an scoilt a cheilt, i ndeireach an seachtaine seo caite, déarfadh duine go raibh go leor cur i gcéill ag baint leo.

"Ta cúis againn lena cheapadh le tamall maith go sileann seisean agus a chairde gur teoiriceoir gan éifeacht é Ó Brádaigh agus gur fear breá réadúil é féin. Is fíor gur coimeádaí go mór é Ó Brádaigh ná eisean, agus is fíor a rá nach é Ó Brádaigh ba ghaire don áit a raibh an troid ar siúl ó rinneadh Uachtarán ar Shinn Féin de i 1970.

"Ach glactar leis gurbh é Ruairí Ó Brádaigh ba mhó a mhúnlaigh an polasaí Éire Nua do Shinn Féin, agus léirigh nithe áirithe ansin go raibh éirim chun polaitíochta ann nár admhaigh cipe Adams le fada anois."

Cumann na mBan

At a recently-convened meeting of the Cumann na mBan executive, held to discuss the issue of abstentionism, or as the media called it, **The Ballot or the Bullet?**, it was decided to issue the following statement:

The Cumann na mBan constitution is very explicit on this issue. Our allegiance is to the 1916 Proclamation and the Democratic Programme of the First Dáil. Our constitution states clearly and unequivocally that the sovereignty and the unity of Ireland are non-judicable and inalienable.

We believe that taking seats in either a colonial or neo-colonial assembly would mean accepting the right of the

British to rule in Ireland and this we believe to be anathema to the principle of Republicanism and therefore a complete contradiction to the constitution of Cumann na mBan. We also believe that to take seats in Leinster House would mean accepting the apparatus of the Free State, army, Special Courts, internment camps and all the other trappings of collaboration and repression.

Our stance today is not something new for us in Cumann na mBan. One has only to look at the Treaty debates of 1922 and our contribution to them. Again in 1932 when Republicans sided with de Valera on the promise that he would close the jails, we in Cumann na mBan stood by the Republic. Also in 1948 and in 1968 we remained true to that fundamental principle.

The constitution of Cumann na mBan is based on certain fundamental truths on which people take their stand and which we now uphold. Central to that stance has been our support for the armed struggle and it will continue to be.

**The Executive,
Cumann na mBan.**

28ú Deireadh Fómhair, 1986

FINANCIAL SUPPORT

Subscriptions will be gratefully received by the Cisteoirí at either of the addresses on the back page.

An dteipfidh Anois?

Dar le "foinsí" ar **Anois** an 9ú Samhain, "teipfidh ar Shinn Féin Poblachtach".

"Meastar go mbeidh an t-ádh leo 30 cumann a bhunú laistigh de sé mhí".

Tá foinsí agus foinsí ann ar ndóigh. Dar leis an bhfoinse seo, agus eolas cruinn aige, tá breis agus 30 cumann ann cheana féin.

Beimid ag caint le **Anois** arís nuair a bheas 60 cumann againn. Ní dóigh linn go mbeimid ag fanacht sé mhí ach an oiread. Céard a déarfá leis-sin **Anois?**

Republican SINN FÉIN Poblachtach

When the decision of the 82nd Ard-Fheis of Sinn Féin to recognise the Leinster House assembly was announced on 2nd November those who wished to defend the Republican position moved with speed.

They withdrew from the Dublin Mansion House in an orderly and dignified manner and walked down Dawson Street behind the flag of Clann na nGael, the Republican Scouts. The flag was carried by Nóirín Ní Liatháin. She had stood outside the Mansion House in full uniform and holding the flag throughout the Ard-Fheis. Beside her was a poster appealing to delegates to uphold the Republic.

In Dawson Street an announcement was made that a meeting would be held in the West County Hotel, Chapelizod.

Half an hour later the delegates had begun to re-assemble. By six o'clock there was a muster of over 130, accompanied by an eager national and international press corps of over 40. Ruairí Ó Brádaigh asked the media representatives to leave the room "until we decide who we are and what we are". He had led the opposition to the recognition of Leinster House during the five-hour debate.

Among the other prominent Republicans at the West County Hotel were: Dáithí Ó Conaill, Dublin; Billy McKee and Bob Murray, Belfast; Seán Keenan, President of Derry Sinn Féin; Councillor Joe O'Neill, Councillor Anthony O'Malley-Daly and Brendan McGill, Donegal; Councillor Frank Glynn, Galway; Richard Behal, Kilmaree; Gearóid Mac Cárthaigh, Cork; Cathleen Knowles, Dublin; Des Long, Limerick; Denis McNerney, Ennis; Tom Sullivan, Tipperary; Liam Cotter, Tralee; Seán Lynch, ex-councillor Longford; Pat and Mary Ward, Donegal; Seán Ó Brádaigh, Dún Laoghaire; Tommy O'Neill, Dublin; Niall Ó Faogáin, Meath; Jack Murphy, Dublin; Art Sherwin, Dublin; Mattie Dowd, Kerry; Tony Ruane, Honorary Vice-President of Sinn Féin; Anne Magee, Fermanagh; Emmet Walsh, Offaly; Murt Ó Ceallaigh, Dublin; Domhnall Ó Lúbhlaí, Dublin; Paddy Ryan, Dublin; Mattie Shannon, Clare; Tomás Ó Maoileoin, Tipperary; Caoimhín Mac Cathmhaoil, Mayo; Éamonn Healy, Sligo; Seán Thornton, Dublin; Betty and Bertie McCormack, Dublin; Mait Ó Brádaigh, Galway.

The meeting adopted, with minor amendments, a draft statement of their position. They were unanimous in agreeing that as they upheld the fundamental principles of the Sinn Féin Constitution, they were Sinn Féin. An Officer

Members of Executive

The Officer Board elected at the meeting of 2nd November was:

Cathaoirleach: Dáithí Ó Conaill;
Leas-Chathaoirleach: Des Long;
Rúnaí: Cathleen Knowles;
Cisteoirí: Joe O'Neill, Frank Graham;
Urlabhraí: Ruairí Ó Brádaigh.

Organising Committee members: Pat Ward, Donegal; Emer O'Connor, Limerick; Bernadette Cullen, Donegal; Anne Magee, Fermanagh; Emmet Walsh, Offaly; Dióg Ní Chonaill, Dublin; Seosamh Ó Maoileoin, Westmeath; Martin Morris, Tipperary; Jim Neary, Galway; Liam Cotter, Kerry; Declan Curneen, Leitrim; Cathleen Shiels, Dublin; Gerard Mooney, Sligo; Michael Nolan, Tipperary; Conor Corr, Tyrone.

Messages of Support

The Organising Committee has received messages of support from:

Michael Flannery, New York, who "stands behind Tom Maguire's statement".

Jim Monsell, Boston.

Tom Falvey and George Harrison, New York.

John Boyle O'Reilly Club, Springfield, Mass.

Dan McCormack, San Francisco.

John Morrison, Alex Murphy and Jim Kane, Chicago.

Board, with Dáithí Ó Conaill as Cathaoirleach and an Organising Committee were elected.

The question of a name for the organisation was discussed. Various proposals were made. It was agreed that as a temporary measure, until such time as the country is reorganised, the name **Republican Sinn Féin** (in Irish **Sinn Féin Poblachtach**) would be used in order to facilitate the media and avoid confusion in the public mind.

All present agreed that the reorganisation of Sinn Féin on a national scale and on the basis of the Constitution as it was until that day was the first priority. The Officer Board and Organising Committee would meet the following Sunday. A collection was taken up which realised £580.

Shortly after seven o'clock the press were readmitted, the position paper read to them and their questions answered. They learned that the attendance included 34 from Munster, 31 from Connacht, 31 from Ulster and 36 from Leinster.

Immediately after this the Officer Board and Committee withdrew to another room to hold a meeting, which lasted about half-an-hour.

By the time the nine-o'clock news on RTE had finished supporters and well-wishers had begun to arrive by car and bus.

As the **Cork Examiner** of the following day reported, "those who opposed the new departure had organised themselves with lightning speed . . . In less than two hours they had gathered to consider their future . . . and within minutes former Sinn Féin President Ruairí Ó Brádaigh emerged to read their declaration of intent".

Significantly, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh had told the meeting: "It cannot now be said that there is no organised body of political opinion in Ireland which rejects the 26-County neo-colonial state set up here by England in 1921".

The withdrawal from the Mansion House and the re-assembly at the West County Hotel had secured and maintained the Republican position. And the number of young people elected to the new committee was a guarantee that Sinn Féin, free from the clientelism of the Leinster House cul-de-sac, would organise and lead the Irish people in achieving the Republic.

Sympathy

The Organising Committee of Republican Sinn Féin, at its meeting on 9th November passed a vote of sympathy with the Walsh Family, Caiseal Ard, Ballyshannon on the death of Francie Walsh.